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works well, who economically defends conscription because it "was inevitable," and who decides all issues of the hour in the light of "public interest" defined by a majority.

There is much in this book dealing with conscription and the psychological aspects of "patriotism" and war which a pacifist of the older type will do well to read. On the whole, he will be established in his former faith that there are "concepts of justice, liberty, and regard for truth itself" which do not change with the generations. He will discover in its author a trenchant critic of militarism, of compromise in affairs of State, and of the arrogance of "intellectuals," whether liberal or otherwise.

FRANCE AND OURSELVES. INTERPRETATIVE STUDIES, 1917-1919. By *Herbert Adams Gibbon*. The Century Co., N. Y. City. Pp. 286. \$1.50.

Written for American, English, and French periodicals, these studies of France, of French statesmen, and of the foreign relations of France, especially with the United States, have a unity of spirit commendable in the author. He is a believer in France, quite candid in expressing his love, and equally free in reproving his countrymen or warning them against offences against France and Frenchmen.

THE SPIRIT OF SELECTIVE SERVICE. By *Maj. Gen. E. H. Crowder, U. S. A., Provost Marshal General*. The Century Co., N. Y. Pp. 367. \$2.00.

The marvel of mobilization of the World War undoubtedly was the creation of the army of the United States, numbering more than 4,000,000 men, and the despatching of half of them across the Atlantic to the seat of war. To our Associated Powers as well as to the Central Powers, it was the "feat magnificent," for which they were not prepared. Basically, so far as law and morals went, it was made possible by what General Crowder in this book politely calls the "selective service," not caring to use the word draft or the term "compulsory military training." To him, as a long-time student of the many systems of compulsory military service in use in Europe and also as master of the art of organization and execution of military policies, naturally fell the task of drafting the law passed by Congress, which was carried into execution by the War Department and its army of civilian aides in the local communities.

As a definitive statement of the record achieved, the methods used, and the aims kept in mind, this book will be read far and wide, in Europe and Asia as well as in this country. The author, however, is not content with looking around him and backward. He looks ahead and finds in the democratization of the people who were drafted, in their unity of purpose in a common privileged task, and in the mutual understandings set up by enforced contacts of the army, lessons for the citizenship of the country in times of peace. His vague ideals thus voiced are not given very concrete expression; but the man's pride in his administrative achievement during the war is so deeply rooted in his consciousness that he can readily posit his hopes for a better world on imitation of the "selective service ideal." A person able to look at the mobilization of the army more objectively might well hesitate about "wishing" the process of compulsory service upon normal civilian life. General Crowder admits that the relatively small amount of resistance to the act was due to a mood of national exaltation and moral elevation. It was not based on any change of fundamental attitude, rational in its origin. The moral passion has passed, as national morale has slumped following the armistice, and the plan for compulsory military training of the youth of the country in times of peace is being resolutely fought in Congress.

A HANDBOOK TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By *Sir Geoffrey Butler*, with an introduction by Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil. Longmans, Green & Co., N. Y. City. Pp. 80. \$1.75 net.

The official relation which the author of this quasi-official book bears to the League of Nations, of which Sir Eric

Drummond is secretary, makes it valuable as a statement of the mechanism of the Paris Treaty and League Covenant, as a text of the document, and as a commentary upon it. It shows how the League's officials are beginning to interpret their duties. Written by an Englishman, primarily for Britons, it naturally, though not defensibly, ignores American aspects of the situation; it makes little or no reference to American writers on international law, and it cites practically no American thinkers or doers in the field of international jurisprudence and arbitration. Mr. Butler is an undersecretary of the League and officiated as such at the International Labor Conference in Washington.

PARLIAMENT AND REVOLUTION. By *J. Ramsay Macdonald*. Scott & Seltzer, New York City. Pp. 180. \$1.50 net.

This is the first of a series in a new Library of Social Science which this new firm will publish. In it the distinguished leader of British labor argues against the dictatorship and centralized, autocratic form of government which Lenin and Trotsky preach and practice. In it he urges on the powerful social group, which he teaches the merits of a representative form of democracy adapted to contemporary needs and political demands. His theory is that "the Socialist movement, on account of the complexity of the problems it raises, of the unexplored regions of conduct which it has to traverse, of the assumptions which it has to make because experience has not been acquired, is of all movements the one which ought never to lose a footing on reality while it stretches out to attain an ideal, one which ought never to lose balance in its progressive efforts."

He is frank enough to confess that "the mass mind can be moved by the highest moral idealism and at the same time be inflamed by the blindest passions. It is both absurdly generous and brutally cruel; it is non-rational and irresponsible; it is blind to contradictions and inconsistencies because emotion is not a continuous process of the intelligence, but a response to passing and temporary influences; it is a continual condition of self-flattery."

For proof of this he points to the post-war reactions of Great Britain under the spell of Lloyd-George, which swept into the national lawmaking body at the last election such a reactionary, conservative majority. He argues for the "evolutionary movement of the constructive reason" at a time when war has destroyed the social *status quo*. He wants labor to be wise enough to seize this opportunity to make "organic social change." He wants the democracy of tomorrow to have a higher conception of its duty than to merely subject capitalism to punishment and extinction. He wants no rule of "proletarian tyranny preliminary to a reign of liberty." He has no more sympathy with property tests for the franchise than he has for educational, religious, age, or military tests for the same privilege.

For him the Soviet system of democracy is inferior to the British, because "it is a pyramid of local governing authorities topped by what is to all intents and purposes a national executive, whereas the parliamentary system is directly based upon national opinion and gives validity to numerous municipal administrative bodies." The Russian form is indirect; the British direct. One is national; the other parochial.

This book, read in connection with the one by the French thinker Duguit, also reviewed in this issue of the *Advocate*, is interesting because of its discussion of the territorial *vs.* trade theory of representation in parliamentary bodies. Macdonald is against a change because "society is greater than any industry; every industry exists only in relation to every other industry; the complete economic unity must always be considered." Nevertheless, he admits the faults of the representative system based on the territorial unit; and his solution is a second chamber, based on the Soviet theory of the franchise, that is an upper house representing groups.

A more searching discussion from the practical standpoint of a man whose theories do not run ahead of the facts of life has not been written in English for persons who wish to understand why the British democracy is not to follow the Russian methods or theories.